1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

622 554 This was dependent entirely, of course, on the personality of the man himself. But the fact that the chief was not necessarily a great warrior is of considerable importance, in that it indicates that his position and power were due primarily to wealth and social prestige, secondarily to birth, and very little, if at all, to prowess in war. The war leaders *(toa)* were those who had distinguished themselves as men of great valor and skill. I have never heard of a man becoming a chief through being a great warrior.

The Chief's Domestic Establishment

622 344 The house of the chief was, of course, larger and more elaborate in its decoration and paraphernalia than that of an average man in his tribe, but other wealthy members of a tribe, and particularly great warriors, had houses equally fine. The main feast and dance area of the tribe *(taha ko'ina)* with its dance floor *(tohua)* and surrounding platforms *(paepae)* was in front of the chief's house. Associated with the feast place and its dance area was commonly a temple *(me'ae)* and nearby, a large warriors' clubhouse. In other words, in addition to the large platform on which was the house of the chief himself, and other smaller platforms for houses of servants, storage, and the like, there were extensive platforms and buildings in close proximity and connected with his house, which made altogether an elaborate establishment.

622 574 ●609 [696] The chief's house was a place of refuge for strangers and members of his tribe that were fleeing from the personal infliction of punishment, which was the common law of the Marquesas. A stranger *(manihi'i)* in a valley taken under the protection of the chief and entertained by him was *tapu* and hence protected against any harm from members of the tribe. Melville's account of his stay in Tai-pi valley gives a good picture of a practical application of this rule. The old saying was, *"Mea tapu te manahi'i; ua tapapa te haka-iki"* (The stranger is sacred, the chief entertains him).

The Chief's Family

622 592 624 The personnel of the chief's household was made up of his primary or sealed wife *(vehine fati tapu)*, secondary husbands and wives *(pekio)*, his natural and foster children, relatives of his own and of his wife, and servants—always members of his tribe, who had put themselves voluntarily in his service by taking refuge at his house for the sake of protection, or those whom he had summoned to serve him. The most important of all the chief's servants was his fire tender, always a secondary husband of his primary wife, undoubtedly for the reason that this position was one of great trust and responsibility. The *tahu ahi* (fire tender), as this man

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group.

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly disposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

609 them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the [301] men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large [291] gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ancles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They [304] were all highly tatooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othaûough [298] had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to [291] me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

142 The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large
304 stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Marquesans gave the appearance of being friendly and open with whites, but were actually very much on guard. It was impossible to tell what was going on in their minds. They manifested their pleasures openly but seldom gave way to grief, although they flew into occasional fits of rage. They regarded death with the utmost composure. An old woman who lived immediately behind my house died of tuberculosis during my stay in her village. When it became apparent that she was not going to live much longer, her husband and four sons built a magnificent tomb for her. They reported each day on how it was coming along, and she was very proud and interested in the work. As she became worse, they started her coffin, building it on the front porch of the house so that she could watch the construction.

The strongest expression of emotion I ever saw was that of an eighteen-year-old boy to whom I gave a mouth organ. He had never seen one before and listened fascinated while I tooted on it. When I handed it over to him, he blew one note, then leaped into the air about four feet with a loud whoop. He did not thank me—that came later—but started off at a run, playing the instrument for all he was worth.

The average Marquesan had a horror of being laughed at, an aversion which was a powerful factor in maintaining the mores of the society, for the nonconformist was certain to be subjected to ridicule. Since the Marquesans are essentially a polite people, the handling was gentle from our point of view. They seldom ridiculed a man to his face, but he was nevertheless aware of the joking and talking that went on behind his back. If he was present at the informal assemblies of the tribe, there would be slighting allusions made to him and his foibles, the humor of which would be highly appreciated by the rest of the group. It was easier for the native to conform to the standards of the community than to be exposed to this sort of thing. This fear of ridicule was undoubtedly an important factor in the prevalence of suicide because of jilted love, which was previously discussed.

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personality, did not seem to coincide in certain areas with many of the more obvious native customs. Furthermore, a number of practices described for the Marquesas not only seemed to be completely absent there but also contrary to data from elsewhere in Polynesia. Preliminary investigation into the sexual behavior of the natives immediately brought forth evidence of a situation which was somewhat more complex than originally apparent, being particularly interesting as a case in the dynamics of Marquesan culture contact, as will be demonstrated in this paper. 121

Investigation Techniques

In the investigation of sexual behavior in the Marquesas, fluency in the language was of utmost importance. Actually, I believe that it is extremely difficult to conduct any type of valid anthropological investigation in Eastern Polynesia without attaining linguistic proficiency. The Marquesans use their native tongue as a weapon against outsiders, who they consider will never bother to learn it. A large amount of joking /3/ and trickery is indulged in before the face of the investigator who must work through an interpreter. In such a situation, it is relatively easy for the native to impart erroneous information without too much fear of being apprehended in his falsehood. 122 123 191

The native language has become an efficient tool with which the Marquesan may satisfy his intense resentment against the privileged white intruders, and their inquisitive prying, by astutely misleading them, until, hopelessly confused, they become a source of fun and butt of derision for the whole population. [609] [522]

However, knowledge of the language on the part of the investigator makes such deviousness impossible, contributing materially to the collection of information on any topic from weather prognoses to historical traditions. 122

Direct interrogation of informants on the physical aspects of sexual behavior proved to have a relatively limited utility. Despite the fact that sexual topics comprise a large part of the 124 [521]

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semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also 833
possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage, especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect-evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocutions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe (rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm.

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl 833
to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply increased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tendencies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks.

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Intercourse usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat 836
different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have 833
derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact 836
with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscuous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, [648]
both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous

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argyrostoma). Therefore, the glans characteristic of this type was probably quite large, circular in section, possessing a blunt terminus and possibly a slightly everted urethral meatus.

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Marquesan males are quite careful to conceal their genitals in the presence of strange Europeans. It would thus be easy for a short-term observer to be completely misled and attribute intense modesty to them. /52/ Such modesty would be completely erroneous, however. Complete nudity is quite common among male groups, especially in fishing parties or in bathing groups, where no attempts are made to conceal the genitals. In such groups, there is a continual undercurrent of sexual horseplay and joking involving the qualities of the genitalia of those present. Some of this verges on the homosexual as will be discussed below. Males will also construct female torsos in the wet sand at the waters edge, and copulate with them briefly, or pile and rub wet sand gently around the penis while seated at the waters edge or in the shallows. There is much concealed curiosity among Marquesans over the genital anatomy of Europeans, particularly regarding the foreskin and results of circumcision in general, as well as for the inevitable comparisons of size.

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In adolescence, homosexuality among males appears with sharply increased frequency. An explanation of the term "homosexual" in Marquesan terms is necessary before proceeding further. Although we will discuss under this general rubric all the behavior that our society would label as homosexual, the Marquesans divide their behavioral continuum differently. Acts of homosexuality are accepted as a substitute for heterosexual relations in time of scarcity of women and as especially characteristic of adolescent behavior. On the other hand, habitual homosexuality, in which female company is eschewed almost entirely and male lovers are taken, earns the appelation of mahu -- deviate. Such conduct in the male is usually associated with transvestitism to varying degrees, assumption of female economic roles and

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